1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

846 [292] five days. This is the belt also worn in mourning for a child and by a girl at puberty. I was not told of restrictions on the father's conduct, but if he is seeking a vision at this time he fasts of necessity for some days.[18]

856 The attending women pinch up the baby's nose and smooth its features to make it handsome. They are especially careful with a boy to straighten and massage his legs so that he may become a good runner.[19] A tight belt of buckskin is put on a girl baby so that she 853 will not become stout. The baby is put to breast immediately. Expectant mothers massage the breasts and squeeze out the first milk.

846 The stump of cord falling off after five days, the navel is greased in order to help it heal. The stump, wrapped in buckskin, is put away by the parents with those of other children. Some precaution is taken to preserve it, at least during the early years, else the baby will die, but it is certain to disappear by the time he is grown. Should the baby die the cord is replaced to be burned with the body.

801 The several references to five-day periods, and we may add the five-day monthly seclusion of women, deserve a word of comment. To be sure there is some basis in fact for this; menstruation, post-natal placental flow and hemorrhage, and the sloughing of the cord do commonly occupy some such period. However, in consideration of individual variation, it is clear that the stated five is but another application of the Klamath pattern number.

852 [171] There is no formal celebration at the birth of a child, as among the Wishram.

856 Some other practices pertaining to childhood may also be noted here. Deciduous teeth are pulled out by the mother as they loosen so that the permanent teeth will erupt in their proper places. This has actually such an effect as well as stimulating the growth of the second dentition. There are no customs regarding these teeth; they are thrown away.

A little girl's hair is made to grow long and thick by singeing it with a lighted splinter of a lightning-struck tree. This is not done for boys.

845 [171] There is no special attitude toward twins (lᵾbă'als) so far as I could discover. This is noteworthy because of the fear of twins mani-

[18] Modoc parents abstain from meat for ten days after the birth, eating only roots. They sweat for five days and then throw away their garments (Gatschet, 1:91).

[19] The Modoc method is described by Gatschet (*loc. cit.*).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

six short loops on each side. A carrying band goes over the mother's forehead. 854

Frontal flattening is customary but not universal. No reason is given. Hrdlička was informed "that the Klamath regard a long head, i.e., a non-deformed head, with derision. They say it is slave-like, that their slaves had such, and that a man with such a head is not fit to be a great man in the tribe. Deformed heads are called 'good heads.'"[82] A buckskin sack, somewhat larger than the forehead, stuffed with dry cat-tail down, is tied to holes in the cradle. Hrdlička was told that this was filled with seeds, such as water-lily seeds. This lies across the forehead but is not tied so tightly that the child cannot turn his head. Pressure is begun at birth and continued as long as the child continues in the cradle. According to my informant's representation the Molala flatten foreheads, some Pit River Indians do, while the Upland Takelma do not practice deformation of any sort. 856 [114] [171]*

The cradle receives ornaments symbolic of the child's future, in the shape of a tiny digging stick for a girl and a bow and arrow for a boy, tied to the edge of the board. Possibly they have more than ornamental significance. These are no longer than the finger; the single arrow is as long as the bow. These are tied to the proper side of the board; the bow and arrow to the child's left, for a man holds his bow in that hand, the root digger to the right.

Use of the cradle continues until the child can walk well. It is not discarded but kept for the use of another baby, unless the child dies, when it is burned with his body. [1166]

NAMES

The name is usually given in early infancy; always by the time the child talks. It is the choice of the parents, given without ceremony. Sometimes it is changed in later life, but there is no set occasion for this. Seemingly names change less frequently than their nickname character would give opportunity for. Perhaps these are always additional names, for I learned of several men known by more than one name; perhaps this holds as true for women as men. But it was said that the first name (hlewa'ska) is the most important. 553

There is considerable reluctance to the use of names, kinship terms being substituted. This does not mean that there is a taboo; merely 551

[82] Head Deformation Among the Klamath.

	Kl	Mo	SB	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
844 3107. On second cradle	–	–	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3108. On person, after child walks	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3109. Shown to owner, when adult	–	◦	–	+	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3110. Disposal of cord	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–		+	–	+	+	+
3111. Buried	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
3112. Burnt	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–		–	–	+
3113. Thrown away, or "lost"	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Infant																
844 3114. Bathing	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
846 3115. Immediately after birth	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	
3116. 1 day after birth	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3117. Steamed on lap, 2-3 days after birth	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	◦	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	
3118. Steamed after cord drops off	–	◦	◦	◦							–	–	–	–	–	
3119. Wiped with grass, skin, etc.	◦	◦	◦				◦	–	–	.	–	◦	◦	◦	–	–
3120. Rubbed with oil, grease, powder	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	◦	◦	–	–
[954] 3121. Massaging	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3122. Torso shaped	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3123. Legs, arms shaped	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3124. Face, nose shaped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3125. Massaging, shaping after cord drops off, only	+	+	+						+		–	–				
3126. By maternal grandmother	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
3127. By mother	+	+	+					+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3128. By attendant											+	+	+	+	+	+
3129. Blow in baby's ears	–	◦	–	–	–	–	+	–	◦	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3130. Ceremonial; singing, praying over baby	–	–	◦	–	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–
Treatment of Mother																
3131. Isolated indoors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3132. In hut, dwelling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
‡3133. For ... days and nights	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	3	6	5	4	+
†3134. For ... months	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
3135. Until blood stops flowing	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3136. Until cord drops off infant	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3137. Leaves hut immediately after birth of child	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3138. Breaks wood	–	◦	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3139. Packs wood	–	+	+	+	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3140. Runs	–	–	–	–	–	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3141. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3142. To keep healthy	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3143. To keep blood flowing	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[515] 3144. Bathing or care of body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3145. Bathes in river	–	–	–	◦	–	–	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	◦	–	◦	–
3146. Bathed in hut, by attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			–	+	–	–	–	–
3147. Takes steam bath in hut	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3148. Massaging	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	+
3149. Belt around abdomen for period of isolation	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		+
3150. Hair belt	–	–	–	–				–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[278] 3151. Medicinal drinks	+	+	◦	–	◦	◦	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
3152. Ordinarily	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
3153. Only if ailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3154. External application of heat	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3155. Warm rock strapped on abdomen, with belt	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	◦
3156. Lies on warm "bed"	+	+	+	–	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
o3157. For ... days	2	2	½	–				10	–	–	–	3	6	5	4	–
3158. Until blood stops running	–	+	–	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	PM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	-	◔	-					+	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	·	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	◔	+	◔	-	◔	+	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[542]
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3366. Back	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	836
3371. Thrown in river	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3372. Buried in gopher hole	-	-	-	-	◔	◔	-	-	-	◔	◔	+	◔	◔	◔	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	-	-	+	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	◔	+	◔	◔	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	-	◔	+	+	+	◔	+	+	◔	845
3379. Considered unlucky	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	·	[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	-	-	-					◔	-		+	◔	·	◔	◔	·	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	·	+	-	·	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	·	
3383. Relative adopts 1	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	·	+	+	·	[547]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	·	-	+	+	+	547
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	·	+	
o3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	·	-	+	·	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	-	+	◔	+	◔	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	-	-	◔					◔	◔	-	-	·	-	◔	◔	-	848
3391. To avert disaster	-	-	+					+	+	-	·	·	-	-	-	-	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	-	-	+					+	◔	-	-	·	-	+	+	-	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	-	-	+					◔	-	-	·	·	-	+	+	-	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	-	-	·	·	+	-	-	-	·	·	-	-	-	-	
3395. Infant smothered	-	-	◔					+	◔	-	·	·	-	-	-	-	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	·	·	·	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	-	-	-	+	-	◔	-	-	-	-	·	+	·	+	+	-	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	-	-	+	+	·	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	·	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	◔	◔	-	-	-	+	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	·	·	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	-	-	◔	·	

852 boy one says, "May this one be a good hunter." For a girl the hope is expressed that "this one will be a good worker and dig many ipos [a root used as food]." These statements are amplified in many ways, according to the sentiments of the individual donor.

854 The infant is first placed in a willow or tule cradle,[1] usually prepared by the maternal grandmother. Several informants asserted that it would be bad luck to prepare the cradle before the child's birth; others seemed not to share this belief. The child remains on the basketry cradle for a fortnight to a month and is thereafter placed on a rigid cradleboard.

It is generally the father who makes the cradleboard although, once it has been made, it may be handed down from one child to the next or [764] even from one generation to the next. It is destroyed only in the event of the child's death, in which case the board and all other objects prepared for the child are burned with the body. After the father makes the cradleboard, the maternal grandmother fixes it for the child. She shows her daughter how to arrange the bedding on the board and place the infant on it with his legs straight and arms extended at his sides.

[854] The child remains on the cradleboard for at least the first year of his life. Even after he can walk he is placed there to sleep; for "if you don't use a cradleboard, the child gets humpbacked." When the child no longer requires a cradleboard, he may still be tightly wrapped in a blanket at night to make him lie straight.

For the first few months of his life the child is cared for almost entirely by his mother with the occasional help of the grandmother. The father would be considered unmanly if he helped with the baby very much. The child is never left alone for more than a few minutes at a time, and then only if the mother knows he is sound asleep. At night the cradleboard lies beside the mother where she can reach out and nurse the child if he cries. During the day the board is propped up in the dwelling, or, if the mother is working elsewhere, she carries the cradle with her and sets it up near her work. While working in a canoe, the woman arranges the cradleboard in one end with a willow shade to protect the child from the sun. If she is busy digging roots or gathering berries or seeds, she sets the cradle against a near-by tree. At such times the child's hands may be unbound so that he is free to play with beads or other objects [853] suspended from the hood of the cradle. Often he is given a bit of camas root to chew on.

The infant seldom receives physical demonstrations of affection, nor does the mother carry him in her arms. However, he is watched continually; and the mother or other adults often pause in their work to talk to the child. They tell a boy to be strong and brave and grow

[114]

[1] Cradling practices are described by Barrett (1910), pp. 257 ff., Spier, pp. 57-59, and Voegelin, elements 3263-3286.

[p. 341 A]

854 up to be a good hunter, whereas a girl is admonished to be a good worker. Both are advised to do right, to help other people, and never to quarrel. Stereotyped phrases of advice are used, and it is felt that "the baby listens just as if he understood everything."

At least once a day the child is taken off the cradle to be bathed. When the child is first unbound, he is allowed to stretch as much as he wishes. For bathing, the mother holds the child on her knee and sponges him in cold water. The cold water is supposed to make the child [114] fearless and strong. Gatschet mentions the application of insects to the infant's arms for • [856] the purpose of making him fearless and unmoved by sudden fright;[5] we found no confirmation of this practice.

After the bath the mother rubs the child with warm ashes and finally powders it with 854 finely ground chalk. Throughout the entire process she talks to the child and expresses her 856 desire that he may grow to be strong and good. At the same time she massages the child's limbs to make them straight and molds his ears, nose, lips, and brows to make him more beautiful. The daily massaging continues till the child is five or six months old. After that it is believed that the bones are too hard to be changed. Frontal flattening by means of a pad tied across the forehead continues as long as the child is on the cradleboard, but not all children undergo this process. According to some informants, the flattening is simply incidental to the manner of cradling. Others claim it is done for beauty. "After all," they say, "a basket hat would never fit a square head."

As the child gets older he is allowed to remain away from the cradleboard for longer and longer periods. He cries to be taken off the board at times, but also to be put back when tired. By the time he is a year old he remains off the board all day, though he may still be placed on it to sleep.

Teething is not considered a difficult process.[6] The gums are massaged if the child becomes fretful. Otherwise he is simply given something to chew on--the inside layer of certain barks or a bit of camas. Later, when the child begins to get his permanent teeth, no special significance is attached to the deciduous set. They are pulled out as they become loose and thrown away or buried.

When a child is five or six months old, he is encouraged to sit up. He is placed on a mat or blanket, and his arms are held on either side of his head as he is taught to rock back and forth while uttering the meaningless sound "aam aam." Parents are proud when the child is able to sit up by himself; and they tell visitors, "See, he can sit up now." The child is allowed to crawl around the dwelling as he pleases. If

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[5] Gatschet (1890), p. 92.

[6] Voegelin, elements 3369-3377.

[p. 341-B]

854 he falls, no attempt is made to pick him up un-
• 856 less he cries for some time.

The first experimentation in crawling and walking is largely left to the child. But when he tries to stand, he is helped. One person steadies the toddler, while another stands a few feet away with outstretched hand, coaxing him to "Come to me." The child soon learns such commands as "Walk," "Go to auntie," and so forth. The parents are proud of the child's accomplishment and show off his ability to visitors.

862 A child continues to nurse until he is two or three years old. Some mothers allow him to nurse as long as he pleases, but ordinarily there is a conscious effort at weaning.[1] The mother rubs her breasts with pitch or charcoal, both to impart a bitter taste and to give a frightening appearance. Some mothers wean their children by staying out of sight for several days while an aunt or other relative takes care of the child. If the mother becomes pregnant [842] again, weaning is hastened. However, it is considered a disgrace to be pregnant while a child is still nursing. No one respects a couple who have children less than two or three years apart. The couple is expected to refrain from intercourse during the nursing period.

863 There is no set age at which toilet training begins. Some families hasten the process; others are extremely lax. Two years seems to be about the average age at which training is begun. The mother takes the child out to the bushes and shows him where to urinate and defecate. He is told to have some adult accompany him to the bushes when he wishes to relieve himself. Thereafter the child is scolded or whipped when he makes a mistake.

856 A child begins to say a few words when about a year old. He has probably acquired a few meaningless syllables even before that, such as the "aam" mentioned above. Children repeat these syllables as they rock back and forth. "It keeps them busy and out of trouble."

The first true word that the individual learns is "mother." At about the same time the child acquires an understanding of simple commands like "dirty" (spoken when he puts unclean objects in his mouth) and "don't" (repeated whenever he gets near the fireplace or other dangerous places).

867 The second word the child learns to articulate is "father." The terms for brother and sister are acquired somewhat later even though older siblings are often assigned to the task of tending the baby. The terms for the paternal grandparents are among the first to be learned, and thereafter the child is told the terms for other relatives with whom he lives. Because of patrilocal residence children normally learn the words for their paternal relatives first. But the teaching of kinship terms is not restricted to those for relatives in the same house group. There is an effort to teach the child the proper

[1] Ibid., elements 3294-3303.

[p.342A] (ca. 1875)

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the child acquires certain attitudes toward his relatives, although patterns of behavior toward particular kin do not seem to be very clearly [593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are re- [603] spected and obeyed, as are grandparents though a certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to [604] be expected from the latter. Uncles and aunts are shown considerable respect. Cousins call [605] each other by sibling terms; those of opposite sex play together freely when small but are told that it is not proper to "play rough" with each other. Even small children learn that marriage between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that children from such an incestuous union will never live.

856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 By the time a child is three he begins to play with other children, parents encouraging group play. Children from all social strata play together. "After all, you can't keep kids [848] apart." Children of chiefs or shamans are no different from the rest. Illegitimate children are looked down upon by the community as a whole, but they are not segregated from their age-mates.

[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

[text continues on bottom of p. 342-B]

[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 59-61, and Voegelin, elements 3306-3321.